

THE RHETORICS OF LUCIAN'S *DREAM*

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The autobiographical piece *The Dream* provides an interesting insight into the satirist Lucian's early life and professional development. In the work, young Lucian has a dream in which he must decide between following a career of education (*paideia*) or of craftwork (*technê*). Each career appears to him personified as a woman and they offer various rewards should he choose to follow their career path. Relying on Prodicus' allegorical debate between Virtue (*Aretê*) and Vice (*Kakia*) over young Heracles as influence, Lucian presents a peculiar outcome to this traditional motif. Lucian eventually chooses to follow the woman of *paideia* and she proceeds to make him rich and famous throughout the world. Although Lucian seems pleased with his choice, considering the treatments of personified Education and Craft and the heavy irony that persists throughout, there is ambiguity whether he chose the correct woman. This thesis seeks to analyze Lucian's *Dream* in light of its allusions to Prodicus' original debate and other similar ones in Lucian's other works to attempt to determine if Lucian is really as pleased in his choice to follow education as he claims.

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INTRODUCTION: LUCIAN'S BACKGROUND

Lucian of Samosata was born in the area of Commagene, in the Roman province of Syria, around 120 CE. Few details about his life are known. According to his own work *The Dream*, he was born to a middle-class family, and, when he was of age, was apprenticed to his maternal uncle as a sculptor. When he failed miserably on his first day on the job, Lucian decided, with the help of a prophetic dream, not to pursue a career of craft (*technê*), but instead of learning (*paideia*). From the mouth of the personified Education herself, Lucian learns that if he follows her he will gain notoriety across the world and be amply rewarded. Enticed by her grace and comeliness, Lucian boards her flying chariot and visualizes soaring across the world, sowing seeds over the earth and receiving the praises of all who see him. When he returns to earth, he is transformed from a failed sculptor's apprentice to a highly esteemed writer, clad in regal purple garments. His choice to follow Education instead of Craft signals Lucian's choice of profession as a rhetorician and lecturer, and his ride in the flying chariot represents his travels as such throughout the East, Greece, and Gaul. Since this is where *The Dream* ends, the rest of Lucian's life can only be subject for speculation.

After a relatively successful career as a rhetorician, Lucian suddenly and mysteriously changed professions around his fortieth year, ca. 165 CE.¹ At this point he began to focus on more literary exploits, writing in a variety of styles on very diverse subjects. However, the genre he is most famous for is one he apparently invented, or at least popularized, that of the seriocomic dialogue. In creating this new genre, Lucian drew

¹ Lucian explains that he became weary of practicing rhetoric in the law courts and chose instead to pursue more literary exploits (*Hermotimus* 13, *The Double Indictment* 32).

on many of the most studied and beloved classical Greek writers and literary figures, most importantly Homer, Aristophanes, Plato, and Menippus. Traces of each of these writers are present and recognizable in Lucian's dialogues: Homer epic style influenced Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* and other works featuring divine anthropomorphization;² from Aristophanes and the tradition of Old Comedy Lucian drew his farcical nature and satirical comedic elements;³ from Plato Lucian appropriated the philosophic dialogue structure; and from Menippean satire he fashioned his patently Cynical tone and the seriocomic form.⁴ This Menippean addition is perhaps the defining element of Lucian's works; it grants his dialogues something more than the comedy of Aristophanes or the philosophical depth of a Platonic dialogue. It encourages Lucian's dialogues to be read both as a satirical criticism of contemporary figures and also as a serious criticism on the current state of society.

Although Lucian has not received as much critical attention as other writers, some Lucianic studies are deserving of recognition. Besides the contentious issues of Lucian's personal history and the dating of his works, the most common aspects of Lucian's career and corpus that modern critics have analyzed mainly relate to the cultural referentiality of his satires. Critics have mainly fallen into two categories, some who claim Lucian's works are primarily “pseudo-realistic” and that their main purpose is to serve as mimetic references to the lost glory of the literary world of Classical Greece.⁵ Conversely, others

² Lucian's other works *True Histories*, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods*, and *Council of the Gods* give contain an almost mock-epic tone as well.

³ *e.g.* the semi-science-fiction elements in *True Histories* and *Icaromenippus*, and the social criticism of *The Ship* and *The Fisherman*.

⁴ Menippus was a 3rd century BCE satirist born in Gadara (Syria), credited with the invention of seriocomic dialogue, characterized by a combination of verse and prose (Relihan (1993), 17).

⁵ Most successful of these surveys is Jacques Bompaigne's *Lucien Écrivain: Imitation et Création* (1958).

take an opposite reading of Lucian, believing he is as integrated in his contemporary society and culture as can be, and that all his works hold some aspect of historical or biographical authenticity.⁶ However, most scholars inhabit some place between these two positions. It is unquestionable that Lucian drew substantial influence from the literature of Classical Greece, and that he utilized the process of *mimesis* to renew and re-appropriate Classical literary themes and tropes to his 2nd century society. However, because of the nature of the satirical genre, there must be some cultural topicality in his works for them to be well received. There is still no definitive way of knowing which social aspects of his own time he accurately reflected and which he embellished; thus, one must take a semi-skeptical position when analyzing the realism presented in Lucian's works.

His satire is defined by the comparisons he draws or highlights between idealized Greece and that of the 2nd century CE. Likewise, the Second Sophistic period in which he lived and wrote is defined by the focus of its literature on the ideals and values of Classical Athens in an attempt to revive a Greek identity that had been lost in the wake of Roman domination. Lucian's contemporary Greece is fundamentally different from Greece of the Classical period, and the use of Menippean, or seriocomic satire was his chosen vehicle for following and perpetuating this Second Sophistic trend. Rather than simply bringing some of the differences between the two cultural periods to light, this genre allowed Lucian to inject biting satire and personal criticism into his dialogues. Thus the purpose of his works is twofold: to entertain and to instruct; but since his satire and his Second Sophistic culture are so intertwined, he actually instructs through entertainment, and entertains through instruction.

⁶ For example, C.P. Jones' 1986 work *Culture and Society in Lucian*.

Although the themes of his works that have received the most attention can be reduced to those dealing with philosophy and religion, Lucian is equally concerned with 2nd century CE life and society in general. As the well-read social observer Jones argues him to be, Lucian identified several areas in society that he believes have changed since the glory days of Athens. This was the era of Demosthenes, Plato, and Aristophanes, and Lucian believed it was the most intellectually and culturally prosperous one of Greek history. One difference Lucian noticed between his contemporary society and Classical Athens centered on the perceived importance of wealth and material possessions in life. Although he does not explicitly attribute the cause of this change to a single source, it can be inferred through subtleties in his works that he lays blame partly on the influence of Roman and Eastern culture in Greece. As a result of the urbanization the Roman civilization brought to its colonies, including Greece and the East, the process of monetization increased in those places.⁷ In a culture that was no longer defined by its vibrant independent political scene, the Greeks used their cultural history to legitimize their national identity; but in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE Greece experienced a state of economic and cultural depression, in large part as a result of the devastation from the Mithradatic war and the Roman civil wars.⁸ One of the ways of rebuilding the former glory of Greece was through an economic revival occurring between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE, not only through an increase in currency production, but also resulting from the benefactions of the philhellenic Antonine emperors.⁹ Lucian observed these changes Rome had on Greek and Eastern culture, compared to the idealized society of 5th century BCE Athens he knew through meticulous

⁷ Heuchert (2005), 40.

⁸ Swain (1996), 2.

⁹ Heuchert (2005), 55; Swain (1996), 88.

study of this period's works. Although the debate about the importance of wealth and its proper uses was a common one in classical literature, in Aristophanes' play *Wealth* and Aristotle's treatment of it in his ethical treatises, for example, it seems that the issue is more problematic in the 2nd century CE. Now, Greeks view wealth as necessary for social life, and they believe great wealth brings great happiness¹⁰ Greeks may have viewed acquiring money as a sort of civic duty, necessary to successfully retain cultural independence and distinguish Greek society even more from Roman cultural imposition, since the Romans had essentially removed their political independence. This preoccupation with the acquisition of money and the negative consequences was also reflected in the literature of the time mainly through development of the stock character of the parasite in Middle and New Comedy. In several of his works, Lucian follows this convention and emphasizes how great wealth only attracts sycophants, toadies, and hangers-on, who ingratiate themselves with rich acquaintances and hypocritically reject them when they are left in poverty.¹¹

Considering some of Lucian's favorite targets of his satire are wealthy misers or spendthrifts and false philosophers, oracles, and seers deceiving clients to become rich, it is interesting to look deeper at his most autobiographical work, *The Dream*. It may seem paradoxical that the life Lucian chooses, following *paideia* and becoming a successful rhetorician famous throughout the Mediterranean, is similar to many of the lives he criticizes in his dialogues. He seems to be initially enticed by Education's promise to teach him the values of past literary masters, namely "moderation, justice, piety, gentleness,

¹⁰ Based on numismatic evidence, the diversity of coinage designs may indicate that Greek cities used coins "as a potential source of revenue and expression of civic pride," (Heuchert (2005), 40).

¹¹ This sentiment is especially present in the work *Timon the Misanthrope*.

fairness, understanding, endurance, love of beauty, and a yearning to achieve the sublime” (*Dream* 10), but he is ultimately won over by her promises of worldwide fame and reputation. Her exquisite attire and chariot drawn by Pegasuses are signifiers of her nobility and wealth, and Lucian experiences the fame she promises when he visualizes all the people of the world applauding him and the unknown things he sows in his wake. But whether this reflects a possibly hypocritical attitude on Lucian's part, or is simply literary embellishment, remains to be seen. It is not likely that Lucian would be so foolhardy to address his audience, who presumably were well acquainted with his works, with such a bold claim and expect them not to notice the opposition.¹² Thus the question now becomes whether his actions in *The Dream* are not actually hypocritical. Perhaps he did follow the path of *paideia* (learning) because of the success, travel opportunities, and income it provided, but one must remember both his humble origins and Syrian nationality. Perhaps Lucian was pressured to surpass traditional cultural limitations, believing that in becoming famous he would also bring honor and reputation to his homeland of Syria and income to his middle-class family. He himself claims he is retelling his dream “so that the young may take the better course and embrace *paideia*, especially if one of them should play the coward because of poverty and incline towards the worse path, ruining a not ignoble nature” (ὅπως οἱ νέοι πρὸς τὰ βελτίω τρέπωνται καὶ παιδείας ἔχωνται, καὶ μάλιστα εἴ τις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πενίας ἐθελοκακεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥττω ἀποκλίνει, φύσιν οὐκ ἀγεννῆ διαφθείρων, 18). He claims to have retold the story of his dream for didactic purposes, and he fashions himself as an authoritative figure, the hometown hero who made it big in the real world.

¹² It is likely that *The Dream* was based on an actual speech Lucian gave to his home-city of Samosata, for he claims at the end of the work to have returned to them made famous (18).

However, there is debate on whether Lucian actually means to recommend the path he chose, the path of *paideia*, or something very different.

What little biographical information known about Lucian, and especially about his early life, is derived from his work *The Dream* which purports to tell the story of how Lucian chose to follow the profession of rhetoric. Although the historicity of the work is doubtful, it still provides valuable information about the early development of Lucian's career. Moreover, the rhetorical features of the piece allow an insight into the intellectual life of Second Sophistic figures. Throughout most of Lucian's works are allusions to the Greek literary figures that Lucian admired most, including Homer, Plato, Aristophanes, and Menippus. *The Dream* is no exception. In many places there are clear references to traditional Greek literary tropes and themes that were no doubt meant to be recognized by educated audience members.¹³

The Dream is styled as a recounting of a dream Lucian once had when he was a young boy. Although Lucian claims the reasons for telling this dream are to offer his life and career choices as examples for others to achieve the level of success he has, several rhetorical features are meant as clear allusions to well-known works of earlier Greek writers. It is through these rhetorical features that Lucian sought to display his level of expertise in rhetoric and learning, in the hopes of impressing his audience. However, it is not only through the rhetorical components of *The Dream* that Lucian displays his rhetorical technique and skill, but also through his unique refashioning of traditional themes and tropes that distinguish him from past writers. One way Lucian demonstrates his skill as a rhetorician is through accurately replicating tropes from Classical Greek

¹³ Cf. ἵσταν γάρ (*Somn.* 17).

literature that evoke the works of past literary masters; but another, more emphatic way is to include a well-known theme or trope and then to change it unexpectedly, often to a complete opposite of the original. This intentional change is a defining element of Lucian's brand of satire, and he utilizes it extensively in most of his works.¹⁴

The main feature of the dream Lucian supposedly had is the debate between two allegorical figures over his career and life. For Lucian these two figures are the female personifications of Education and Craft. The major influence for this allegorical debate is the Choice of Heracles, originally composed by the sophist Prodicus but only surviving through the words of Socrates in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.1.21-33. Here Socrates tells how Prodicus, a well-known sophist and contemporary, used to tell the story of how personifications of Virtue and Vice vied for Heracles, when he himself was a young man. After fierce debating, Heracles ultimately chose to follow a life of Virtue, a choice that was clearly the correct one both to Heracles and to Prodicus' audience. Prodicus builds a rather one-sided comparison between Virtue and Vice whereby Virtue excels in nearly every characteristic, including speech, demeanor, clothing, and lifestyle promises. Lucian invokes the same basic plot outline, but adds his own personal touches, the most noticeable difference from the Prodician original being the more ambiguous comparison between his two ladies. The differences between Lucian's debate and Prodicus' original serve to differentiate Lucian from Prodicus and other writers who follow the same trope, and in this way Lucian sought to display both his knowledge of Greek literary tradition and his own skill in re-appropriating the allegorical debate trope in a different way to reflect his own personal beliefs.

¹⁴ Branham (1989), 134.

Although there are many other occurrences of allegorical debates based on the Prodicuean original, the ultimate choice of Lucian to follow Education over Craft is decidedly unconventional.¹⁵ The personification of Education contains many similar characteristics of the usually negative choice in these debates, while Craft represents traits of the positive choice. If Lucian's audience was well educated enough to know the original debate as Xenophon presents it in *Memorabilia*, and there is no indication that they couldn't have been, then they would surely notice the alterations Lucian makes. His reasons for these changes are probably rhetorical. According to Sansone, Xenophon's account quotes a shorter version of Prodicus' debate probably nearly word for word. Sansone maintains Prodicus' purpose in drafting a shorter version of a longer declamation would be to advertise his skills as a rhetorician first through the inclusion of near synonyms, an area of literary criticism in which Prodius was a well-known critic, and second through the implicit promise to teach his students, like the young Heracles, how to choose between right and wrong.¹⁶ Lucian admits at the end of *The Dream* that one of his purposes in writing this speech is to encourage the young to choose the path that will result in the greatest fame and fortune. But his inclusion of details inconsistent with Prodicus' original, especially in the action and language of the victorious character, demonstrate his skills in rhetorical flexibility and improvisation. By making Education, who conforms to the typically negative choice, the ultimate winner of the debate, Lucian follows a rhetorical exercise common to *declamationes*, which critics, most famously Aristophanes in *The Clouds*, criticize as making the worse argument the stronger.

¹⁵ Other well-known writers to follow this allegorical debate outline include Philo, Philostratus, Justin, Ovid, and Dio Chrysostom (Gera (1995), 239).

¹⁶ Sansone (2004), 140.

If one of Prodicus' goals in writing his short *epideixis* was to advertise his skill as a rhetorician, could Lucian not have a similar purpose in writing this short *epideixis*? If, on a return to his humble hometown of Samosata, Lucian sought to emphasize his literary accomplishments, and engage in self-praise common to Second Sophistic literature, he would certainly achieve this purpose by referencing a commonly known mythical debate written by the well-known sophist Prodicus, made famous by a Classical Athenian, Xenophon, and put into the mouth of Socrates. However, he may also achieve this purpose by copying Prodicus' motives in echoing his Choice of Heracles, that is, to display his rhetorical and sophistic skill through unexpected modifications regarding the descriptions of the two allegorical figures, and especially regarding his ultimate choice to follow Education and the ramifications that result.

CHAPTER 1: FAILURE AT SCULPTURE

The Dream is organized as a typical declamation, with a defined introduction (*exordium*), body, and conclusion (*peroratio*). Lucian begins his work with an introduction of his own childhood and early adolescence; the retelling of the actual dream constitutes the main part of the speech; and he concludes with a final remark to the audience, including telling his reasons for explaining the dream in the first place. It would be appropriate, therefore, to analyze each part of the oration in this order.

Lucian's *exordium* begins by telling the events that led to the fateful dream. In his middle or late teens, after he finished school, Lucian's family sought apprenticeship for him in the hopes of training him for a career. Since his family was at a loss as to which career should be pursued, Lucian's father asked his friends for career suggestions. The option of further learning (*paideia*) was initially ruled out of the question, owing to, among other things, the "high cost and requirement of social standing" (δαπάνης οὐ μικρᾶς καὶ τύχης δεῖσθαι λαμπρᾶς, 1). Instead of higher education, Lucian's father's friends suggest he have his son learn "a skill of handicraft" (τινα τέχνην τῶν βαναύσων, 1). By describing the career option of craft as βάνανσος, Lucian invokes a set of expectations associated with this word; however, there is little else in Lucian's early description that emphasizes the ignoble connotation associated with this career. Plato often uses the term "banausic" or "mechanical" as a derogatory term for a career that actually prevents one from being able to follow the nobler path of philosophy, either because it offers no leisure time for

philosophic reflection, or because it is physically harmful to the body and mind.¹⁷ The term appears in several Platonic dialogues and in Aristotle and Xenophon, but in none of these contexts is it ever considered as noble as careers in the liberal arts like philosophy or even politics. Lucian thus introduces the profession of craft as starkly contrasted to the more virtuous careers stemming from *paideia*. This derogatory connotation would not go unnoticed by Lucian's presumably educated audience of *pepaideumenoi*, and they would surely notice the irony surrounding the beginning of Lucian's professional life. But Lucian does not focus on the ignoble aspects of banausic craft that worry Plato and the philosophers, choosing instead to emphasize the positive aspects of the career, primarily that it would provide quick financial returns, and this is what Lucian's family needs most. Although Lucian implies his family was of modest means and in need of immediate financial assistance, which is one reason they sought to secure employment for Lucian as soon as possible, their situation must not have been too dire, as they had enough money to afford a basic education for their son. Lucian perhaps exaggerates his family's desperation in order to explain the appropriateness of the profession of craft. He does so by twice emphasizing how quickly craftwork would make him money. Firstly, he would "immediately receive sufficient income" (εὐθὺς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔχειν τὰ ἀρκοῦντα, 1), and secondly, "in no long while I would delight my father by bringing back earnings regularly" (οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐφρανεῖν ἀποφέρων ἀεὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον). Lucian seeks to instill in his audience the belief that craft would not only provide quick money (εὐθὺς), but also offer more permanent relief (ἀεὶ). It seems that Lucian's father's friends believe

¹⁷ Or simply from class prejudice. Plato *Rep.* 495d-e. The same sentiment is also expressed in *Gorg.* 512b-c, *Symp.* 203a, Aristotle *Pol.* 1287a7-13, 1337b4-15, Xenophon *Oec.* 4.2-3, and *Dream* 9 below.

this profession would provide him with sufficient income in both the short- and long-term. The ease and quickness with which Lucian would be able to make money in the career of craftwork is contrasted to the “great labor and much time” (πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ χρόνου μακροῦ) that *paideia* requires. Any negative impression initially caused by the connotation of βάνανυσος appears to have been lost in the praises of the advantages of a career in craftwork. Lucian thus builds a specific expectation in his listeners that he fails to fulfill, and one is given the impression that, though banausic for sure, the career of craft is the most appropriate for Lucian and his family at this time in his life.

Fortunately for Lucian and his family, his maternal uncle who was a stone-carver (ἐρμογλύφος, 2) was present at the meeting, and thus it was decided by his father that young Lucian should be apprenticed to him. By introducing the career of sculpture as the first suggestion for employment, a perceptive listener might be immediately reminded of the early life of Socrates and how he was apprenticed to his father Sophroniscus who was a stone-carver (λιθουργός, Diog. Laer. 2.18-9).¹⁸ This sly reference to the most famous Greek philosopher serves as a foreshadowing of the path Lucian’s career will take, not in carving however, but in something more ambitious and virtuous.¹⁹ The language of the next sections only reinforces the overall positive attributes of a career in sculpture and the appropriateness of this profession for Lucian in particular. First of all, it is obvious to Lucian’s father that his son should follow the career of his relatives, his maternal uncle and

¹⁸ And perhaps they are also reminded of the life of Pyrrho the skeptic philosopher, who worked as an artist in his early career (Diog. Laer. 9.11).

¹⁹ Lucian usually reflects admiration for Socrates, but sometimes calls him “low-born” (ἀγεννής, *Demonax* 6) and in the *Isles of the Blessed* in *True Histories* Lucian remarks on his staunch denial of love for young boys, even though Hyacinthus and Narcissus, his two favorites, admit the love (2.19). Curiously, Socrates and his pupil Aeschines are called “the most imitative of all the craftsmen” (μιμηλότατοι τεχνιτῶν ἀπάντων, *Images* 17).

maternal grandfather. He believes “it isn’t right” (οὐ θέμις, 2) for Lucian to learn any other skill than one that is already in his family and that has brought his uncle a good reputation.

Moreover, Lucian even seemed to exhibit a natural talent for artistry (φύσεώς γε ἔχων δεξιῶς, 2), as he often would fashion models of animals and people out of his leftover school wax. Lucian's apparent natural skill for fashioning objects in wax convinces his father and uncle that sculpture is an appropriate profession for Lucian not only for its financial advantages, but additionally it is even naturally suited to his own talents. Because of his visible skill (εὐφυΐαν) his family “had high hopes” (χρηστὰς εἶχον ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας, 2) that he would succeed in his prospective career. His father must be more than satisfied with his decision since Lucian's artistic skill will allow him to succeed even easier and faster than before.²⁰ But it is not just his father and uncle who are happy with this arrangement; Lucian himself expressed some pleasure with the prospect of adopting this career. On the day he was to begin his new apprenticeship, he admits that he was “not at all displeased with the arrangement” (οὐ σφόδρα τῷ πράγματι ἀχθόμενος, 3) and was excited to begin “some not unenjoyable pastime” (παιδιάν τινα οὐκ ἀτερπῆ, 3). Here, as commentators note, Lucian describes the first day of his new career in religious terms.²¹ On Lucian's first day on the job, he had every reason to believe he would succeed, as it was “a favorable day to be initiated into craft” (ἐπιτήδειος... ἡμέρα τέχνης ἐνάρχεσθαι, 3). Lucian's father takes every measure to ensure that his son succeed in his new job, following proper religious practice in choosing an auspicious day for such an undertaking.

²⁰ Hopkinson notes the similarity of this passage with Aristophanes’ *Clouds*, where Strepsiades seeks to enroll his son Phidippides in Socrates’ school and cites as proof of his son’s skill the fact that when he was young he would fashion objects, like Lucian does here (99). However, that Phidippides fails in his father’s ambitions perhaps foreshadows Lucian's own failure as a sculptor.

²¹ Hopkinson (2008), 100.

Lucian is understandably eager to embark on a new career path, but perhaps more telling is Lucian's excitement at wanting to “show off” (ἐπίδειξιν, 3) to his schoolmates his new skill. Young Lucian appears just as interested in beginning a new career for the purpose of making money as he is for the purpose of making his friends jealous of his new skill. The jealousy Lucian expects to incur in his friends motivates him to try to do well in this new job. From his childhood Lucian already seems to value professions based on how they are perceived by others. That this concern will continue to have an effect in Lucian's later life will be seen later.

When Lucian began the first day of his new job, he had every expectation that he would succeed. Lucian's confidence, and that of his family, leads the audience to also believe this career would be a good fit for him. However, the young Lucian, perhaps overly eager to impress his uncle, strikes a slab of marble too hard and ruins it. Lucian blames his mistake on “inexperience” (ἀπειρία, 3), but he does admit his uncle instructed him to “strike a soft blow” (ήρέμα καθικέσθαι πλακός, 3), an instruction he obviously disobeyed. Although this might be a disappointing first foray into the art of sculpture for young Lucian, the narrator Lucian himself recalling the event in retrospect is not so surprised. He claims everything that happened was the “usual experience of beginners” (σύνηθες τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, 3). Nevertheless, because of his mistake Lucian is beaten by his uncle with a stick lying nearby. This punishment becomes the real reason Lucian abandons the career of sculptor soon after. Again, ritualistic language appears during this episode, when Lucian is “consecrated” (κατήρξατο, 3) by means of this beating. Hopkinson also reads religious undertones into the word προοίμια of the next sentence, when Lucian says his “tears were

the prelude to my craft” (δάκρυά μοι τὰ προοίμια τῆς τέχνης, 3).²² All this religious language, making Lucian out to be a victim for sacrifice, shows that his career got off to a rather inauspicious start, contrary to his earlier expectations. Whatever religious undertones evoked in this passage, it should also be noted that the word προοίμια also is used as a rhetorical term for any beginning or introduction of a speech.²³ By presenting his punishment as a rhetorical introduction, Lucian prepares his audience for the upcoming remainder of his story. Mentioning the rhetorical term in this way also clues the audience into the fact that the remainder of the speech will be highly rhetorically charged.

After the beating Lucian ran home to his mother crying. In a rather petulant tone he accused his uncle of beating him because he was jealous Lucian would surpass him in skill. Lucian never places blame on himself for breaking the marble, and the fact that he lies about his uncle’s jealousy proves how concerned he is with acting the victim. Lucian fell asleep crying, with thoughts of the traumatic beating still going through his head.²⁴

As excited and enthusiastic about starting this new career as Lucian was at the beginning of the day, that he quits rather abruptly after one setback, moreover one that was entirely normal for beginners, reflects a striking change in young Lucian's attitude. Even though he had the natural skill required for this work, and even though he was excited by the prospects of the career, Lucian appears to not have been emotionally ready to venture into unknown territory. More importantly perhaps, is the fear of failure Lucian apparently was plagued with. This is clear from his refusal to take responsibility for his mistake as much as from his childish insults against his uncle, who was clearly not jealous

²² Hopkinson (2008), 101.

²³ Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1414b.

²⁴ “I fell asleep still crying and thinking of the stick” (κατέδαρθον ἔτι ἔνδακρυς καὶ τὴν σκυτάλην ἐννοῶν, 4).

of his nephew. This outcome is nearly opposite to what the audience would have been led to expect by Lucian. Since the beginning of the work Lucian presents the career of sculptor as one that apparently is a perfect fit for him: not only does he have family connections to the profession, but he himself has natural skill and, more importantly, enthusiasm for it. However, after his very first strike on the stone he abandons this pursuit and never gives another thought to this profession. He leaves the audience wondering why he does not try his hand at sculpture again or practice more to refine his skill. For Lucian to desert such a profitable and appropriate profession leaves the audience also wondering to which other profession could Lucian ever be more suited.

Here Lucian the narrator breaks from the story and addresses the audience personally. This intermission from the story serves to break from the narrative and allows Lucian to personally address his audience before continuing on to the most important part of the work, his dream itself. Lucian the narrator advises his audience that up to that point his story has been about a “humorous youthful escapade” (γέλᾱσιμα καὶ μεῖρακιώδη, 5), but the next part should be taken seriously (οὐκέτι εὐκαταφρόνητα) and “deserves a highly attentive audience” (πάνυ φιληκόων ἀκροατῶν δεόμενα). Lucian is here practically confessing to his audience that a rhetorical shift will happen with the rest of his story. By instructing them to pay attention to the next sections, Lucian means to prepare them to notice and recognize the forthcoming rhetorical features and literary allusions. In contrast to the playful series of events that led up to the fateful dream, the events of Lucian's dream itself will not be so humorous and should be considered more significant than before.

CHAPTER 2: THE DREAM

In order to impart literary authority to what he is about to say, Lucian prefaces his dream with a Homeric quote about dreams, “a divine dream came to me while I slept, through the immortal night” (θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος/ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα).²⁵ In the *Iliad* this is how Agamemnon describes the dream sent to him by Zeus, by which he tries to encourage his troops to endure and fight. However, that dream sent to Agamemnon, of Nestor advising him to prepare the troops for an attack on Troy, was meant by Zeus to falsely convince Agamemnon that he would succeed in his attack. When Zeus summons the god Dream and gives him his command, he twice describes the lesser god as “cruel” or “baneful” (οὔλος, 2.6, 8). Audience members familiar with the *Iliad* would know this dream is sent to fulfill Zeus’ promise to Thetis that he would cause the Achaeans great loss in order to punish Agamemnon’s hubris towards Achilles. The deceptive purpose behind the dream and its epithet οὔλος both underline the negative nature of Agamemnon’s dream, and for Lucian to use this dream as the epic parallel for his own may cause the same reaction in his audience. Since Agamemnon’s dream was sent to convince him of a false outcome, the audience may wonder if the same will turn out true for Lucian. Immediately following this allusion to Homer is a reference to Plato’s *Menexenus*, when Lucian says, “even after all this time, the figures that I saw remain in my eyes and the voice I heard in my ears. So clear was it all” (ἔτι γοῦν καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τά τε σχήματά μοι τῶν φανέντων ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παραμένει καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν ἀκουσθέντων ἔναυλος· οὕτω σαφῆς πάντα ἦν, 5). Lucian compares the lucidity of his dream with the effect Socrates feels

²⁵ *Iliad* 2.56.

when he hears skilled orators speaking. In the Platonic dialogue Socrates claims he is still thinking of the words of orators for four or five days after hearing them, so profound is their effect on him.²⁶ The effect of introducing his dream with references to Agamemnon and his dream sent by Zeus in the *Iliad* imparts literary authority commensurate to Homer to Lucian himself. It also invokes the authority of the gods as the source for his dream, imparting to it a prophetic quality. Additionally, by invoking Plato's words about Socrates, Lucian seems to want to emphasize the importance this dream had for his personal and professional development and to prepare the audience to anticipate the events of the dream that Lucian instructs should be taken seriously. However, the deceptive nature of Agamemnon's dream and the heavy Socratic irony that surrounds his words from *Menexenus* cast doubt on Lucian's previous claim that this dream is not to be considered humorous and that its events had a profound impact on Lucian's development.

In Lucian's dream two women appear, physically vying for his attention. Before the audience knows who these two women are, they at least get a brief description of the actions and appearance of each. Lucian emphasizes especially the physical effort each woman exerts in order to win his favor. Their zeal over Lucian was so violent that they nearly "ripped him apart as a result of their vying with each other" (διεσπάσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλας φιλοτιμούμεναι, 6). Their contention also manifests in shouting at each other as they fight over Lucian. While both women are playing tug-of-war over Lucian, he is able to get a decent look at each. The first he describes as "workman-like and manly" (ἐργατική καὶ

²⁶"The speech and voice of the orator remain so much in my ears, that barely on the fourth or fifth day I recover myself and realize I am still on earth, whereas until then I all but thought I lived in the Isles of the Blessed. So skilled our orators are" (οὕτως ἔναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος παρὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τετάρτη ἢ πέμπτη ἡμέρα ἀναμνησκομαι ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ αἰσθάνομαι οὗ γῆς εἶμι, τέως δὲ οἶμαι μόνον οὐκ ἐν μακάρων νήσοις οἰκεῖν: οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοί εἰσιν, *Menex.* 235b-c).

άνδρική), whose hair is unkempt (αύχμηρά) and hands are covered in calluses (τύλων ανάπλεως). Her status as a workman is clarified when Lucian describes her girded-up clothing (διεζωσμένη τὴν ἐσθῆτα) and the layer of marble dust covering her (τιτάνου καταγέμουσα) and the audience finally realizes she is a stonecutter when Lucian notices she looks “just like my uncle whenever he polishes stone” (οἷος ἦν ὁ θεῖος ὁπότε ξέοι τοὺς λίθους). In contrast to the dirty and manly appearance of this first lady, Lucian describes the second in wholly positive and appealing terms. The second woman is “very beautiful in face and attractive in body and well-dressed” (μάλα εὐπρόσωπος καὶ τὸ σχῆμα εὐπρεπὴς καὶ κόσμιος τὴν ἀναβολήν). Before each lady even speaks the audience is given a clear idea of the distinguishing characteristics of each, and Lucian requires them to make their own inferences as to what each truly represents and whom Lucian will ultimately follow.

Educated listeners would readily recognize the trope of an allegorical debate from the most well-known literary instance known as the Choice of Heracles, attributed to the sophist Prodicus but told by Socrates in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*.²⁷ In this story Heracles is a young man and at a moral crossroads to decide how to direct his life, whether towards virtue or vice, similar to Lucian who is at a professional crossroads to decide which career to pursue. The not-so-subtle comparison with Heracles choosing between a life of virtue and vice lends authority to Lucian’s choice of profession. It also suggests to the audience, who are probably familiar with this story of Heracles’ life, that the two options Lucian must choose from will be as distinct opposites in their characteristics as virtue is to vice.

However, in various significant places Lucian departs from the traditional motif of an

²⁷ The original myth is paraphrased in Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.21-34, and others who follow this outline include Philo, Philostratus, Justin, Ovid and Dio Chrysostom (Gera (1995), 239).

allegorical debate, and his departure is evident from the very beginning of his retelling. In Prodicus' version, the two women, Virtue (*Aretê*) and Vice (*Kakia*), never engage in physical violence against each other or Heracles.²⁸ The only comparable parallel is that Vice runs up to Heracles to speak to him first while Virtue continues walking in a calm and dignified pace.²⁹ However, there is a clear analog in terms of the appearance of one of the women. Some of the terms that Lucian uses to describe the second woman he sees are also used by Socrates to describe the first appearance of the Prodician women to Heracles. The first woman he sees is "pretty" and "her body is adorned with purity, her eyes with dignity, her form with modesty, dressed in white" (εὐπρεπῇ... κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα αἰδοῖ, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνη, ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ, *Mem.* 2.1.22). The emphasis on her beauty (εὐπρεπῇ) and the orderliness of her clothes and bearing (κεκοσμημένην) correspond well to the second woman Lucian describes, who is also pretty and well-dressed (εὐπρεπῆς καὶ κόσμιος). The second woman Heracles sees, however, is "plump and soft" and her "complexion is beautified with cosmetics such that it is whiter and redder than normal" (πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἀπαλότητα, κεκαλλωπισμένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα, ὥστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ ἐρυθροτέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι, *Mem.* 2.1.22).³⁰ This woman contrasts nicely with the other Prodician woman in terms of natural versus artificial beauty. However, the contrast between this Prodician woman and her Lucianic counterpart is not as clearly defined as would be expected. Lucian describes the first woman he sees in terms that minimize her femininity and emphasize the manliness which

²⁸ Gera also notes that physical aggression is rare in all other allegorical debates based on Prodicus' original (Gera (1995), 240).

²⁹ Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.23.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that when Sculpture appears to Lucian in his dream she is white because she is covered in marble dust (τιτάνου καταγέμουσα, *Somn.* 6).

reminds Lucian of his uncle. Prodicus' woman is by contrast hyper-feminized with her cosmetics and clothing. She takes great pains to appear impressive in the eyes of others, evidenced by the fact that she "was often looking around herself, to see whether anyone was looking at her, and she was often even looking at her own shadow" (κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ θαμὰ ἑαυτήν, ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτὴν θεᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιὰν ἀποβλέπειν, 2.1.22). This woman's preoccupation with her appearance contrasts sharply with the Lucianic woman's lack of concern for her own appearance, since her hair is unkempt, her hands are callused, and she is covered in a layer of marble dust. With the similarities and differences between the two Prodician women and the two Lucianic counterparts in mind the audience is left unclear as to what the exact contrast Lucian means to evoke is, and whether it corresponds to the same contrast Prodicus intended.

What might be clear to the audience, however, is which of these two women is presented in better terms. The masculine woman is again described as "rough and masculine" (σκληρὰ καὶ ἀνδρώδης, 6) before she begins her speech to Lucian. Those audience members familiar with another of Lucian's dialogues, *Rhetorum Praeceptor*, or *A Professor of Rhetoric*, might recognize the principle plot of that dialogue is a debate between two possible paths to succeed in rhetoric. The first, which is propounded by an aged teacher, preaches perseverance on the long and toilsome road to excellence in rhetoric. He is opposed by a young dandy sophist, who preaches the merits of shortcuts to ascend the metaphorical mountain of rhetorical training. The Dandy Sophist believes "masculinity is boorish and not fitting for a delicate and charming rhetor" (ἄγρουικον γὰρ τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἀβροῦ καὶ ἐρασμίου ῥήτορος, *Rhet.* 12). That excessive masculinity

is a detractor for a rhetorician may foreshadow the failure of this woman's attempts to recruit Lucian to her profession. Conversely, the Dandy Sophist also believes the first lesson for success as a rhetorician is that "it is most necessary to pay attention to outward appearance, and to the neatness of your cloak" (σχήματος μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιμεληθῆναι χρὴ μάλιστα καὶ εὐμόρφου τῆς ἀναβολῆς, 16). The style of wearing one's cloak that the Dandy Sophist recommends (ἀναβολή) is the exact style the second woman follows. At least between these two dialogues Lucian presents a fairly unified picture of what outward appearance has to do with rhetorical skill. If audience members of *The Dream* knew Lucian's other works they might anticipate the outcome of the upcoming debate between these two women.³¹

After these short descriptions the first woman Lucian saw, the dirty, masculine one, finally speaks to Lucian, She reveals herself as the art of Sculpture personified (Ἑρμογλυφικὴ τέχνη, *Somn.* 7) and begins her speech attempting to lure Lucian to her profession. This woman Sculpture is twice described by the masculinity of her dress and appearance, on the one hand meant to draw a parallel with Lucian's sculptor uncle, but on the other to increase the clarity of the contrast with her rival woman, whose beauty and prettiness was emphasized. Sculpture personified addresses Lucian as if the two are already familiar; even though Lucian was only first acquainted with her the day before, she is "a kinsman and relative" (οἰκεία δέ σοι καὶ συγγενής, 7) of Lucian through two uncles and also his maternal grandfather, who all were her disciples. Lucian's audience now

³¹ The question of dating Lucian's many dialogues is one that has plagued scholars of the Second Sophistic for some time. Although it is not certain that *A Teacher of Rhetoric* was written before *The Dream*, in the final sentence of the latter Lucian states he is "at least no less famous than any sculptor" (οὐδενὸς γοῦν τῶν λιθογλύφων ἀδοξότερος, *Somn.* 18), perhaps implying he is already well-known for his writings.

knows one of the women who will be vying for his favor and it is the very woman whom Lucian abandoned after his embarrassing beginner's mistake that day. Sculpture refrains from mentioning this incident and instead focuses on the reasons why Lucian should follow her profession, many of the same reasons why his father decided on this path for Lucian in the first place. She puts great importance on the close familial relation of sculpture with Lucian's family. She then points to the other woman, who is still unnamed, and claims if Lucian avoids her "trinkets and nonsense" (λήρων μὲν καὶ φληνάφων) he will grow up nobly and have strong shoulders. She then adds even more enticing promises, that as a sculptor he "will be free from jealousy of any kind" (φθόνου δὲ παντὸς ἀλλότριος ἔση). Not only that, but as a sculptor he will not have to go abroad and leave his homeland and kinsfolk. This prospect might appeal to someone familiar with Socrates' own life, for he reportedly was proud that he never travelled abroad from Athens during his lifetime, except for military service.³² This is the second reference to Socrates connected to the profession of craft, but a more explicit one will be made in subsequent sections by the unnamed second woman. However, the main argument Sculpture uses to lure Lucian is the prospect of praise received from those who view his artistic products. She hints at the identity of the second woman when she asserts that with herself Lucian will receive praise "not only for his words" (οὐδὲ ἐπὶ λόγοις), implying that he will also receive praise for his deeds too.

But should Lucian follow the career of sculpture, it would not be only he himself who is praised. Sculpture promises with her he will "make his father enviable and will show his fatherland is admired" (ζηλωτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀποδείξεις, περίβλεπτον δὲ

³² Plato *Crito* 52b.

ἀποφανεῖς καὶ τὴν πατρίδα; 8). Sculpture appeals to Lucian's desire to be envied, the prospect of which also enticed him when he was beginning his artistic career. She also mentions another reason to choose her that had originally lured Lucian to sculpture: that he would be closer to the gods through her. Before the fateful first day as a sculptor Lucian had imagined showing off to his friends his ability to carve images of the gods.³³ Here sculpture reinforces that desire by naming all the most famous sculptors, Phidias, Polycleitus, Myron, and Praxiteles, and some of their known works. She claims that from their ability to carve admired and worshipped images of the gods, as a result “these men are revered after only the gods” (προσκυνοῦνται γοῦν οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν). Sculpture indeed presents a strong argument for following her profession, but it is clear that she simply repeats many of the reasons Lucian's father had already proposed for becoming a sculptor. Moreover, she does not even mention the two chief reasons his father suggested Lucian become a sculptor, namely, to make money and to do so quickly. While praise and respect for himself, his father, and his fatherland are appealing results, this is the only real advantage Sculpture offers to Lucian. Her absence of focus on money is further emphasized by her appearance and dress. When Lucian first glimpsed Sculpture he described her as dirty, unkempt, and manly, but she herself even reiterates that her “figure is humble and clothing is soiled” (τοῦ σχήματος τὸ εὐτελές... τῆς ἐσθῆτος τὸ πιναρόν). For a young lad who was delighted at the prospects of making quick money and of distinguishing himself from his middle-class Syrian family and friends, nothing that Sculpture offers is truly appealing enough to make him try his hand at the craft again. She uses words like “famous”

³³ *Somn.* 3.

(κλεινός), “noble” (γεννικῶς), “enviable” (ζηλωτόν), and “admired” (περίβλεπτον), but her own appearance as a dirty craftsman weakens her promises.³⁴

Sculpture’s inability to speak well also detracts from the strength of her arguments. During her speech she was “stuttering much and speaking lots of gibberish” (διαπταίουσα καὶ βαρβαρίζουσα πάμπολλα). Babbling like a barbarian (βαρβαρίζειν) is a common description of easterners such as Lucian’s Syrian race, and he himself speaks barbarously in two other dialogues.³⁵ However, for rhetorical purposes this way of speaking undermines one’s persuasive technique. The Dandy Sophist also has words on this subject: “If you commit a solecism or a barbarism, let shamelessness be your one remedy” (ἂν σολοικίσης δὲ ἢ βαρβαρίσης, ἐν ἔστω φάρμακον ἡ ἀναισχυντία, *Rhet.* 17) and he then instructs you to make up some phony precedent to justify the slip-up. Sculpture’s barbarian style of speaking manifests itself in a rather unorganized speech. Lucian notes she seemed to be “rather hastily stringing words together” (μάλα δὴ σπουδῇ συνείρουσα). The disorganization of the words and the barbaric nature of her speaking reveal a lack of formal education in public speaking and, combined with her poor dress and hygiene, do not present Sculpture in a very appealing light at all. Both Sculpture’s poor dress and lack of eloquence detract from her rather unorganized speech to Lucian.³⁶ It is no wonder, then,

³⁴ Sculpture’s debate opponent will seize on this point in her speech (*Somn.* 9).

³⁵ *The Double Indictment* 27 and *Ignorant Book Collector* 4. Hopkinson notes “speaking like a barbarian” can mean with a strange accent or improper pronunciation or enunciation, or even speaking an entirely different (non-Greek) language like Aramaic (Hopkinson (1993), 103).

³⁶ However, Hopkinson points out that at no point in her speech does Sculpture say any barbarism, and in fact the tricolon at the closing is a formidable rhetorical feature (Hopkinson (1998), 102-3).

that Lucian claims to not have remembered anything else she said, even though she said many other things.³⁷

Now that Sculpture has finished talking, the second woman finally reveals her identity. She is Education (Παιδεία) and the audience is reminded that hers is the career path Lucian's father dismissed in favor of sculpture at the outset of the work. Speaking second, Education has a chance to refute Sculpture's earlier claims, giving her a rhetorical advantage.³⁸ She begins in the same way Sculpture did, by emphasizing the connection she has with Lucian. However, as she relates, Lucian has only been acquainted with Education from his primary schooling, even though Education claims she is "a well-known and familiar friend" (συνήθης σοι καὶ γνωρίμη, 9) to him. She claims if Lucian follows Sculpture he will only be a laborer (ἐργάτης) who will toil just to make a small income. Not only that, but Lucian will not receive the fame or adulation Sculpture promised because of his status as a laborer. Education emphasizes how as a sculptor he will not be educated (ταπεινὸς τὴν γνώμην) and will be forced to rely on more educated people to make a living. Because of his lack of education he will court those more educated whenever some legal dispute arises, as he is presumably not even able to speak for himself in such situations. Lucian will even lose all significance in the public eye (εὐτελὴς δὲ τὴν πρόοδον). Education seeks to overshadow the most rhetorically forceful point in Sculpture's speech, that she will make him famous, his father enviable, and his country respected, with her own tricolon. With Sculpture he will "not be respected by his friends nor feared by his enemies nor envied by his

³⁷ "I don't remember it any longer, since most of it has escaped my memory by now" (ἀλλ' οὐκέτι μέμνημαι· τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ ἤδη μου τὴν μνήμην διέφυγεν, 8).

³⁸ Waites notes that in most allegorical debates of the Prodician type the first personification to speak is usually destined to lose (Waites (1912), 12). Also, in tragic *agones* the more sympathetic character usually speaks last.

countrymen” (οὔτε φίλοις ἐπιδικάσιμος οὔτε ἐχθροῖς φοβερὸς οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις ζηλωτός). On the contrary, Lucian would “live the life of a hare” (λαγῶ βίον ζῶν) proverbial for its humble living and vulnerability, a line Demosthenes used against Aeschines.³⁹ Even if he should become as famous as Phidias or Polycleitus everyone would surely praise his works, but no one would be envious of his life, if they were smart.⁴⁰ The idea that physical creations like statues or writings, however beautiful or attractive they are, will not elicit the same emotions of reverence and jealousy as noble deeds is also reflected in Plutarch’s *Life of Pericles*, when he also mentions these famous sculptors: “No smart youth, upon seeing Zeus at Pisa or Hera at Argos, longs to be like Phidias or Polycleitus... for it doesn’t necessarily follow that if the work delights in its grace, the creator would be worthy of esteem. Whence these things don’t help the viewer, from which no mimetic jealousy arises nor an uplifting that arouses a desire and impulse to become similar” (καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυὲς νέος ἢ τὸν ἐν Πίσῃ θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν ἢ Ἥραν τὴν ἐν Ἀργεὶ Πολύκλειτος... οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ τέρπει τὸ ἔργον ὥς χάριεν, ἄξιον σπουδῆς εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον. ὅθεν οὐδ’ ὠφελεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς θεωμένους, πρὸς ἃ μιμητικὸς οὐ γίνεται ζήλος οὐδὲ ἀνάδοσις κινουῖσα προθυμίαν καὶ ὁρμὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν, *Pericles* 2).

However, by evoking this same idea Education risks undercutting her own efforts, as she herself offers Lucian fame through his future writings, not actual noble deeds. Thus, one could argue that Lucian would receive no more fame or nobility through writing than through sculpting.

³⁹ Demosthenes *On The Crown* 263 (Hopkinson (1998), 103).

⁴⁰ “No one who saw you, if he were in his right mind, would pray to be like you” (οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὅστις τῶν ἰδόντων, εἰ νοῦν ἔχοι, εὖξαιτ’ ἂν σοὶ ὅμοιος γενέσθαι, 9).

The issue of fame and envy reappears and Education seems to know the strong effect it will have on the ambitious young Lucian. She most easily discredits Sculpture's promises of fame simply by emphasizing the negative nature of any career in craft, expressed in the negative connotations of βάνανσος, χειρῶναξ, and ἀποχειροβίωτος. Contrary to Sculpture's assertions that craftwork imparts fame, virtue, and "makes your shoulders strong" (τοὺς ὥμους ἔξεις καρτερούς, 7), Education adheres to the opinion Plato has concerning a life of βανανυσία.⁴¹ These activities only result in toil and hard labor, and necessitate wearing dirty clothes and "assuming a servile appearance" (σχῆμα δουλοπρεπὲς ἀναλήψῃ, 13). She proves that craftwork is not a noble profession since as a result of working only with his hands he "will be a bottom-dweller, of low esteem, humble in every way" (χαμαιπετὴς καὶ χαμαίζηλος καὶ πάντα τρόπον ταπεινός, 13). Education proves that it is a defect of the profession of craft that will cause these ignoble effects when she explains that Lucian will always be considered a mere artisan "no matter what sort of person you might really be" (οἷος γὰρ ἂν ᾖς).

When Education begins to enumerate the many rewards her profession can promise she assumes an air of authority. Her first promise appeals directly to Lucian's philosophical desires; she promises to make him "experienced" (ἐμπειρον) in all the works of the old masters and to adorn his soul with "many noble adornments – sensibility, justice, piety, gentleness, reasonableness, understanding, strength, love of beautiful things, and an impulse towards the holiest things" (πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς κοσμήμασι – σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, εὐσεβεία, πραότητι, ἐπιεικεία, συνέσει, καρτερία, τῷ τῶν καλῶν ἔρωτι, τῇ πρὸς τὰ σεμνότατα ὁρμῇ, 10). This listing of characteristically Socratic values proves that

⁴¹ Cf. Plato *Rep.* 590c: βανανυσία δὲ καὶ χειροτεχνία.

Education believes herself able to benefit Lucian physically as well as mentally and spiritually. Furthermore, with Lucian's soul thus adorned, she will teach him the events of the past, which will allow Lucian to know the events of the present and even those of the future. Lucian's connection with "piety" and "the holiest things" will finally allow him to comprehend "all matters, human and divine" (τά τε θεῖα τά τ' ἀνθρώπινα). But most importantly, Education will be able to do this quickly (οὐκ εἰς μακράν). Audience members would not forget that one of the main reasons Lucian's father chose the career of sculpture for his son was because of the quick returns it promised. Even though Lucian himself never seemed too concerned with the financial prospects of his career path, this promise has a profound effect on him.

Education further emphasizes the celerity with which she can benefit Lucian, not only financially and for the betterment of his soul, but even in granting him fame and reputation. She promises to this "poor son of a nobody" (ὁ πένης ὁ τοῦ δεῖνος, 11) that after only a little while (μετ' ὀλίγον) she will make him enviable and an object of jealousy of all men. This was one of Lucian's original expectations from the profession of craft, especially the prospect of showing his skill off to his friends. However, Education offers more than simply impressing his friends, for even if he travels abroad he will "not be unknown nor inconspicuous" (ἀγνώς οὐδ' ἀφανῆς ἔσῃ). Education in this one statement responds directly to some of Sculpture's claims in her speech. Previously, Sculpture bragged that with her Lucian would have no need to travel abroad for he would be famous among his own people. But Education here offers the explicit opportunity to travel and gain international fame. The one respect in which Lucian will be honored most is something that Education emphasizes only she can grant to him: speaking ability. Education claims she will

make Lucian marveled at and felicitated by crowds listening to his “eloquence” (τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν λόγων, 12). As a result of his international fame Lucian will practically become immortal. Education here is now responding directly to Sculpture’s claim that by following her he would become like Phidias and the others worshipped second only to gods. Education outdoes Sculpture’s claim by promising to make Lucian immortal himself and worshipped equal to the gods. At this bold statement an audience member might be reminded again of Prodicus’ original debate, when Virtue promises to Heracles that those who follow her “become friends to gods” (φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς ὄντες, *Mem.* 2.1.33) and are remembered forever after their death. Education then lists a few men who were made famous through her: Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Socrates himself. Socrates has already been referenced twice, Demosthenes once, and Aeschines once as the target of Demosthenes’ insult about living a hare’s life. From the frequency of allusions to these authors in *The Dream*, and other Lucianic works, it is clear that they are a great influence to him as an author.⁴² Thus it is no surprise that Education uses these famous men to convince Lucian of the benefits she can bestow. An interesting parallel arises in that in *A Teacher of Rhetoric* the old, traditional rhetoric teacher praises the style of Demosthenes and Aeschines, while the Dandy Sophist calls Demosthenes “lacking charms” (χαρίτων ἄμοιρος, *Rhet.* 17) and Plato “lifeless” (ψυχρός, 17). Lucian has already shown that Education and the Dandy Sophist share many opinions regarding rhetoric, but here the author has them disagree quite explicitly. The audience should also recall the fact that Demosthenes was the son of a sword maker, drawing another parallel with Socrates as those who abandoned a

⁴² Plato is the third most alluded to and quoted author by Lucian; Demosthenes is the tenth. Demosthenes and Aeschines are the first and second most alluded to orators, respectively, and Plato is the most alluded to philosopher (Householder (1941), 44, 53).

life of craftwork to succeed in higher learning. Education mentions this fact about Socrates explicitly here, how he began “in the care of this Sculpture here” (ὕπὸ τῇ Ἑρμοφλυφικῇ ταύτῃ τραφεῖς, *Somn.* 12) but quickly abandoned her when he found something better.

The final point of Education’s speech is her most rhetorically charged one. She first enumerates all the benefits she can confer on Lucian if he chooses her: “glorious deeds and pious words, a beautiful form and honor, esteem, praise, precedence, power, office and fame for words and felicitation for wit” (πράξεις λαμπράς καὶ λόγους σεμνοὺς καὶ σχῆμα εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον καὶ προεδρίας καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ λόγοις εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ συνέσει εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι, 13). But the main point she wishes to emphasize is that a career in craft will only allow Lucian to take care that his creations are “well-balanced and well-formed” (εὐρυθμα καὶ εὐσχήμονα), while Education will let him make sure he himself is also “well-balanced and ordered” (εὐρυθμός τε καὶ κόσμιος). This last point seems to fully convince Lucian of the advantages of Education as he abruptly interrupts her to declare his allegiance. Lucian claims he chose Education over Sculpture “rejoicing much” (μάλα γεγηθώς, 14) but also confesses most of the decision was based on the thought of the stick and the beating.⁴³ Since the audience already knows Sculpture reminds Lucian of his uncle in appearance and since Lucian here explains the main factor for his decision, the audience is left wondering what the real motivation was for Lucian's choice. However, there is no doubt that Education does indeed promise more and greater returns to Lucian, especially since she mentions both money and the quickness of learning the trade. Even Sculpture’s main promises, fame for himself, his father, and his country,

⁴³ “Especially when the stick entered my mind and that it had laid blows on me from the very start of yesterday” (μάλιστα ἐπεὶ μοι καὶ εἰς νοῦν ἦλθεν ἡ σκυτάλη καὶ ὅτι πληγὰς εὐθύς οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀρχομένῳ μοι χθὲς ἐνετρίψατο, 14).

Education bests, claiming Lucian will be known not only throughout his land, but even throughout the world and for all time. In her indignation at not being chosen Sculpture at first struck her hands and ground her teeth, but soon after, ironically, turned into stone like Niobe. Lucian feels the need to offer a disclaimer for this unexpected metamorphosis so he reminds the audience that even though dreams may be strange, they should not be disbelieved, “for dreams are wonderworkers” (θαυματοποιοὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄνειροι, 14).

Even though this is the end of the allegorical debate based on Prodicus’ Choice of Heracles, Lucian’s dream continues. As reward to Lucian for choosing her Education bids him mount her flying chariot pulled by Pegasus “so that you might know what you would have missed had you not followed me” (ὅπως εἰδῆς οἷα καὶ ἡλίκᾳ μὴ ἀκολουθήσας ἐμοὶ ἀγνοήσῃν ἔμελλες).⁴⁴ Lucian boards the chariot and is taken on a journey signifying the passage of the sun across the sky from east to west. During his journey Lucian witnesses people on the ground rejoicing as he sows something over the land like Triptolemus. Lucian does not himself remember what objects he was sowing for the people, but according to myth Triptolemus was taught the art of agriculture by Demeter who then led him around the world in a flying chariot pulled by dragons sowing seeds of wheat across the land, thereby bestowing his knowledge to people. The connection Lucian seeks to make between himself and Triptolemus is significant in that both men are taught their skill by a female, whether a goddess or an allegorical personification, and both take flying chariot rides around the world sharing their skill and knowledge with a grateful public. It is unclear what the objects Lucian sows would be, but perhaps the audience would infer they

⁴⁴ Audience members might recognize the flying chariot of Plato’s *Phaedrus* as a theme for this section of the dream.

are seeds of his dialogues or his words themselves. All he remembers is that the people received his seeds with applause and “words of praise” (εὐφημίας).

After the short flight Education returns Lucian home where his dress has been miraculously changed to “regal purple” (εὐπάρυφος, 16). Lucian's dress now mirrors that of Education herself which is, as she emphasized in her own speech, “very splendid” (πανὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν, 11). Education shows Lucian's fine new attire to his father and reminds him how close he was to following Sculpture, which would only have given Lucian a “filthy tunic and a slavish look” (χιτῶνιόν τι πιναρὸν καὶ σχῆμα δουλοπρεπές, 13). This is the end of Lucian's dream. Whereas he introduced the dream with the Homeric quote implying perhaps some divine agency or prophetic quality, however, he now admits the primary cause of it was probably “the agitation caused by the fear of the beating” (ἐκταραχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν τῶν πληγῶν φόβον, 16). Once again the audience is left to consider the real reason why Lucian chose Education and now they might even question the source of the dream. Instead of perhaps being sent by the gods, as Agamemnon's dream was sent by Zeus, Lucian hints that it was simply the worry caused by the trauma of the beating. Whether this calls into question the implications of choosing Education over Sculpture or not, Lucian himself expressed no regret or dissatisfaction in his choice.

Now that the story of the dream is finished, the narrator Lucian reappears and addresses some hypothetical complaints from audience members. With a healthy dose of Lucianic irony he imagines a listener exclaiming, “By Heracles, what a long and boring dream!” (Ἡράκλεις ὥς μακρὸν τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ δικανικόν, 17). Not only does this comment mention Heracles, thereby reminding the audience of the basis for the allegorical debate between Sculpture and Education, but it also means to present some actual thoughts the

audience might have, namely, why Lucian's is telling such a dream at all. The adjective δικάνικόν emphasizes the rhetorical nature of the dream by comparing it to a speech that would be given in court. Another audience member reiterates the sentiment, claiming the dream was so long it must have taken three nights to complete, another reference to Heracles.⁴⁵ These two audience members question Lucian's motives for telling his dream again by claiming they are not "dream-readers" (όνείρων τινὰς ὑποκριτὰς). This statement again brings into question the divine nature of the dream, if Lucian meant there to be any. From the ritualistic language at the beginning of the work to the introduction of the dream with the Homeric quote to Lucian admitting the supposed cause of the dream to be his own fear of punishment, the audience is now still unconvinced that this dream is anything more than the fantasies of an upset and petulant child.

In response to these criticisms Lucian mentions Xenophon, who also recounted a dream that was taken to be prophetic in the *Anabasis*, as precedence for talking about peculiar dreams. The audience would once more be reminded by the mention of Xenophon that the fullest account of Prodicus' myth of Heracles is found in Xenophon's philosophical work *Memorabilia*. However, commentators have noticed Lucian seems to be confused about the dreams Xenophon tells in the *Anabasis*. Lucian seems here to mean the dream told in 3.1.11, but this was not told to others; actually the dream told in 4.3.8 Xenophon did relate to others.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the point Lucian wishes to emphasize is that he believes, at least in part, that his dream has some divine source, as Xenophon assumes for both of his dreams. Commentators are eager to point out this error by Lucian because Lucian claims to

⁴⁵ According to mythology, Zeus lengthened the night he spent with Heracles' mother Alcmena by three to prolong the affair (Plautus *Amph.* 312).

⁴⁶ Hopkinson (2008), 108.

be telling this dream for “some certain usefulness” (τι χρήσιμον). Since this is the real point of telling the dream it makes its length and tedium necessary to understand its underlying message. Lucian clarifies he tells his dream “so that the young may turn towards the better path and embrace education, and especially if someone is made cowardly because of poverty and he turns to the worse path, thereby destroying a not ignoble nature” (ὅπως οἱ νέοι πρὸς τὰ βελτίω τρέπωνται καὶ παιδείας ἔχωνται, καὶ μάλιστα εἴ τις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πενίας ἐθελοκακεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥττω ἀποκλίνει, φύσιν οὐκ ἀγεννῇ διαφθείρων, 18). So Lucian reveals a protreptic purpose for his speech to his countrymen. Lucian seeks to present himself as an “adequate example” (ικανὸν παράδειγμα) for those like him, young men from lower-class families unsure which career path to follow. The description of education as the better path and craft as the worse is the most striking comparison Lucian makes between the two options, but the main reason he favors education seems to be related to its financial viability. He emphasizes his poverty for a second time saying others should be like him when he chose education, “showing no fear in the face of poverty then” (μηδὲν ἀποδευλιάσας πρὸς τὴν πενίαν τὴν τότε). Lucian now addresses his father’s earlier apprehension of sending his son to higher education because of the “great effort, long time, great expense and conspicuous social standing it required” (πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ χρόνου μακροῦ καὶ δαπάνης οὐ μικρᾶς καὶ τύχης δεῖσθαι λαμπρᾶς, 1). The implication Lucian may mean to make is that overcoming all these obstacles will eventually be worth it because of the good outcomes of education that a career in sculpture cannot grant.

It is interesting that Lucian emphasizes so strongly that education offers the most financial gains, when his father and uncle earlier agreed that sculpture would offer the most and fastest gains. This is another instance where Lucian defies the expectations of the

audience that he helped to form at the beginning of the work. From the outset he constructed the craft of sculpture in positive language, even religious at times, in an effort to express the suitability of this career for Lucian's talent and personality. However, because of the unforeseen punishment he suffered at the hands of his uncle his preference for sculpture changed and he turned to the other option, higher education. Even though in some respects education does not seem the appropriate or obvious correct choice for Lucian, he still feels proud of the success he has achieved in this profession. For those audience members who may doubt the correctness of Lucian's choice, he responds that he has returned to his homeland "if nothing more, at least no less famous than a stone-carver" (εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, οὐδενὸς γοῦν τῶν λιθογλύφων ἀδοξότερος, 18). However, this closing statement does not fully express Lucian's feelings in unambiguous terms. He perhaps means to say that as a follower of education he has at least become as famous as he would have become as a sculptor. But since he explicitly stated his preference for education over sculpture just previously, it could be inferred that Lucian believes he would have become famous in whichever career he chose, thus there is something else about education besides fame that won his favor.

CHAPTER 3: OTHER ALLEGORICAL DEBATES IN LUCIAN

Although Lucian draws great influence from Prodicus' Choice of Heracles that is related in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, there are many differences between the members of Lucian's allegorical debate and those of Prodicus' and other writers who have imitated this form. Debates of a similar type are also present in other works of Lucian and through comparison of the debate between Sculpture and Education in *The Dream* and other similar debates, a clearer picture of the true advantages of Lucian's choice might appear. First, in nearly every allegorical debate of this type there is a clear contrast between the two competing members. Prodicus' original myth featured Virtue (*Aretê*) versus Vice (*Kakia*), and some have copied this contrast, sometimes replacing Vice with Pleasure, while others have modified the contrast with such personifications as Kingship versus Tyranny or Friendship versus Hypocrisy.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the contrast between the two debaters is always starkly clear and the two personifications are usually direct opposites. In Lucian's debate Sculpture and Education are not direct opposites, but Lucian treats each as if they are. Lucian has only two possible options for employment, even though in reality these two choices would not be the only possibilities open to him. Since *technê* and *paideia* are not true opposites, there is some difficulty in reconciling Lucian's choice to follow *paideia* over *technê*. It is obvious that Education is the more appealing choice to Lucian, based on her appearance, speech, and promises to Lucian, but that she is such an obvious choice is problematic for Lucian's rhetorical agenda. In Prodicus' original myth and most of its echoes there is not as distinct a difference between the descriptions of the good and bad

⁴⁷ Gera (1995), 239.

competitor. Deborah Gera suggests that because Education is clearly the obvious choice for Lucian, there is no real competition between her and Sculpture, “if the tale of a choice put to young Heracles (or his counterparts) is to be morally instructive and interesting, it must comprise a genuine choice and involve a real dilemma of some kind. And the way to create such a quandary is to present a pair of two genuine alternatives.”⁴⁸ Based on Lucian's descriptions of Sculpture and Education no such genuine dilemma exists. Education embodies all the good qualities of the pair, and Sculpture all the bad ones, whereas in other versions both competitors share good and bad qualities. Gera concludes that because of this and other interesting distortions of the original myth, “one can, perhaps, sense underneath the surface the disillusion or disappointment Lucian feels with the path he has chosen.”⁴⁹ If Lucian is indeed disillusioned or disappointed at following Education instead of Sculpture, he does not dare say so very explicitly, for this would seem to undermine the authoritative personality he constructs of himself in *The Dream*.

Even though Education and Sculpture are not direct opposites of each other, Virtue and Vice of Prodicus' original myth and several other instances of allegorical debates in the Lucianic corpus do feature two genuine alternatives. Interestingly, Education and Sculpture share some of the qualities of these real alternative choices. Most noticeably is that at the first appearance of Sculpture and Education they are fighting and arguing with each other over Lucian. Lucian describes the entrance of the two women and how as they were “grabbing both my hands each was trying to drag me to herself very violently and strongly” (λαβόμεναι ταῖν χεροῖν εἰλκόν με πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἑκατέρα μάλα βιαίως καὶ καρτερῶς, *Somn.* 6). The aggression each displays, both towards the other and towards young Lucian, is not

⁴⁸ Gera (1995), 243.

⁴⁹ Gera (1995), 250.

a common feature of other allegorical debates.⁵⁰ They are so concerned with winning Lucian over to their side that they even jeopardize his own safety in the process. Lucian fears because “they very nearly ripped me apart vying with each other!” (μικροῦ γοῦν με διεσπάσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλας φιλοτιμούμεναι, 6). Although these two women are competitors like every other Prodicus-pair, they are unique in the level of physical aggression they exhibit. The closest parallel from Prodicus’ original myth is that when Virtue and Vice appear to Heracles it is Vice who hurries up to him, eager to reach him first, while Virtue continues in her usual patient pace. Thus, impatience and force is seen as a decidedly negative quality, especially in contrast to the patience and relaxed demeanor of the positive personification. Here Lucian has both his women display impatience, force, and anger as they fight with each other over him even before they introduce themselves. However, later in the dream, after Lucian rejects Sculpture, this woman does again act aggressively and violently. Lucian describes how she was “indignant and beat her hands together and ground her teeth” (ἡγανάκτει καὶ τῷ χεῖρει συνεκρότει καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας συνέπριε, 14) before ironically being turned to stone like Niobe. Even though Sculpture displays the aggressive behavior of a sore loser, it is not until she is firmly rejected that she acts so. Until this point in the dream both women are characterized by their aggression towards each other, which is not an attractive quality in other Prodicusian debaters.

Although Sculpture and Education are both compared to Vice in their early actions, it becomes clear through descriptions of their appearance, speech, and promises to Lucian that each corresponds to different qualities portrayed by both Virtue and Vice in Prodicus’ debate as well as to the Old Sophist and the Dandy Sophist in Lucian’s highly ironic piece *A*

⁵⁰ Gera (1995), 240.

Professor of Rhetoric. The most noticable similarity is that Sculpture, Virtue, and the Old Sophist all prescribe a path to success that involves toil and labor.⁵¹ Sculpture does not say this fact very explicitly in her speech to Lucian, but Education emphasizes that should Lucian follow Sculpture he would be destined to a life of a worker, “toiling with your body” (τῷ σώματι πονῶν, 9). But Sculpture does claim this toil has at least one positive effect, that it will give Lucian “powerful shoulders” (τοὺς ὥμους καρτερούς, 7). In addition, Virtue herself in Prodicus’ myth claims that toil is not only part of her way of living, but indeed a necessary one. She tells Heracles that “the gods give nothing to men that is noble and beautiful without toil and perseverance” (τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ διδόασιν ἀνθρώποις, *Mem.* 2.1.28). This prescription to labor is more fitting for Heracles to hear than for Lucian considering the physical prowess of the former, but Lucian the author breaks from his pattern of displaying Sculpture as the wrong choice by assigning to her a quality recommended by Virtue, the obviously correct choice in Prodicus’ version. It would be difficult to imagine that a learned audience member would not consider equating the two women through this shared characteristic, which might severely undermine Lucian's attempt to portray Education as the better choice in every way. However, Lucian must not believe it would undermine his work too much, for he also has the Old Sophist, the ironically obvious correct choice in *A Professor of Rhetoric* state almost the exact same thought. The narrator of the piece, who is presumably the titular Professor giving advice to a neophyte rhetor, states there are two paths to rhetorical skill and the one represented by the Old Sophist who follows the traditional practices is “narrow, thorny, and rough, exhibiting great thirst and sweat” (στενὴ καὶ ἀκανθώδης καὶ

⁵¹ Cf. also the verse of Hesiod Xenophon uses to introduce the myth of Heracles at the crossroads in *Mem.* 2.1.20.

τραχεῖα, πολὺ τὸ δίψος ἐμφαίνουσα καὶ ἰδρῶτα, *Rhet.* 7). Moreover, the Old Sophist claims the road to rhetorical success not only involves toil, but that this toil is a “necessary and inevitable” (ἀναγκαῖα ταῦτα καὶ ἀπαραίτητα, 9) characteristic. Thus, by not choosing to follow Sculpture, who embodies a quality that is usually presented as positive and necessary to succeed, young Lucian is defying custom and expectation.

But this is not the only quality that Sculpture shares with Virtue. In her speech to Heracles Virtue emphasizes her connection to the gods as opposed to Vice, who “though being immortal, is left out of the company of the gods” (ἀθάνατος δὲ οὐσα ἐκ θεῶν μὲν ἀπέρριψαι, *Mem.* 2.1.31). In contrast, Virtue is a companion of the gods and most importantly is “a beloved workmate of the skilled” (ἀγαπητὴ μὲν συνεργὸς τεχνίταις, 2.1.32). By giving Virtue a direct connection to *technê* Lucian draws a parallel with the *technê* of *The Dream*, namely, Sculpture herself. This relationship further emphasizes the positive qualities of Sculpture that perhaps imply irony in Lucian's preference of *paideia* over *technê*.

It is also difficult to ignore that Sculpture and the Old Sophist are both often described as masculine and manly. Although this quality might be detrimental for Sculpture as a female, a point that Education strongly emphasizes to Lucian, the connection to the Old Sophist still grants some positive aspect to Sculpture. She is described as “masculine” and “austere and manly” (ἀνδρική... ἡ σκληρὰ ἐκείνη καὶ ἀνδρώδης, *Somn.* 6) by young Lucian. Similarly, the Old Sophist is introduced as “some man, very austere, with a manly stride... and a masculine glance” (τις ἀνὴρ, ὑπόσκληρος, ἀνδρώδης τὸ βάδισμα... ἀρρενωπὸς τὸ βλέμμα, *Rhet.* 9). In the context of *A Professor of Rhetoric* describing the Old Sophist as masculine emphasizes his relationship with the old literary masters like Demosthenes and

Plato and further distinguishes him from the overly feminine Dandy Sophist, who represents a typical fashionable and stylish Second Sophistic sophist. The depiction of Sculpture in *The Dream* is also very similar to the personified Poverty (*Penia*) in *Timon the Misanthrope*, another of Lucian's works that features an allegorical debate, this time between Wealth (*Ploutos*) and Poverty over the favor of Timon. Poverty has trained Timon "in the manliest labors" (πόνους με τοῖς ἀνδρικοτάτοις, *Timon* 36) and both Sculpture and Poverty are manly and strong, and make no pretense to appear elegant or extravagant.⁵² Both Timon and Wealth himself in that work praise the morality and virtues that follow Poverty, and it was her influence that made Timon "a noble man and worthy of much" (γενναῖον ἄνδρα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον, 32). Likewise, Education in *The Dream* is described in the same ways as Wealth in *Timon*, with exquisite dress and regalia. Poverty is also marked by her companions Toil, Endurance, Wisdom, and Courage (*Ponos*, *Karteria*, *Sophia*, and *Andreia*), as opposed to Luxury, Insolence, and Pride (*Truphê*, *Hubris*, and *Tuphos*) who accompany Wealth.⁵³ In *Timon*, Poverty is the obvious choice over Wealth for the good qualities she embodies and provides and her similarities with Sculpture in *The Dream* further suggest the benefits of a career in sculpture.

However, the area in which Sculpture is described in the most negative terms is her level of attractiveness. The first thing Lucian notices when he sees Sculpture is that she has "unkempt hair, callus-filled hands, girded up clothes, and is covered by a layer of marble-dust" (ἀύχμηρὰ τὴν κόμην, τὼ χεῖρε τύλων ἀνάπλεως, διεζωσμένη τὴν ἐσθῆτα, τιτάνου καταγέμουσα, *Somn.* 6). However, even though these qualities appear unattractive as opposed to Education's prettiness and neat clothes, these qualities do not so much describe

⁵² Also Virtue (*Aretê*) in *The Fisherman* is described as "manly" (ἀνδρώδης, 16).

⁵³ *Timon* 31-2.

Sculpture's unattractiveness as they evoke the image of a typical stone-carver. Lucian makes this comparison explicit when he notes the resemblance of Sculpture to his sculptor uncle. Education emphasizes the ugliness of Sculpture's appearance more than Lucian does, no doubt in an attempt to convince Lucian that because she, Education, is better dressed and prettier, she is therefore the better career to pursue, when she points out Sculpture's "cheap figure and dirty clothes" (τοῦ σχήματος τὸ εὐτελὲς μηδὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος τὸ πιναρόν, 8). In almost all other Prodician debates the negative choice is never described as ugly or unattractive, for otherwise they would not present themselves as a real choice. In these works, the right choice is almost always more modest and restrained in dress and demeanor. Conversely, the wrong choice is the one dressed in purple and gold and made up to look beautiful with cosmetics and accessories.⁵⁴ Education attempts to highlight Sculpture's workmanlike appearance to emphasize her own attractiveness and finery. She even connects the garb of Sculpture to her moral status when she warns if Lucian wears Sculpture's "dirty tunic" (χιτώνιον πιναρόν) he will assume a "slavish appearance" (σχῆμα δουλοπρεπές, 13). An astute listener might recognize this as the opposite of one of the descriptions of Prodicus' Virtue, how she has a "nature of freeness" (ἐλευθέριον φύσει, *Mem.* 2.1.22). Education's final insult to Sculpture's appearance directly relates to her career in craftwork when she blatantly calls her an "ugly workwoman" (τὴν ἄμορφον ἐκείνην καὶ ἐργατικὴν, *Somn.* 14). By emphasizing the dirtiness of a typical worker

⁵⁴ "Virtue may be beautiful, plain, or even occasionally unattractive, but Vice (or her negative counterpart) is never ugly" (Gera (1995), 243).

Education again references the traditionally negative connotation of the term *banausos*, which is several times used to describe Sculpture and her career.⁵⁵

Disregarding the insults Education levels at Sculpture, there are not many characteristics of her that are inherently negative, nor however, does she correspond to the usually negative choice of other allegorical debates. Education, on the other hand, shares many similarities with both the Virtue figure and the Vice figure of Prodicus' debate, complicating her significance to the work as Lucian's preferred career choice. First, from the very outset of the work Education is compared to Virtue in terms of appearance. Education has a "very pretty face and a lovely figure" (μάλα εὐπρόσωπος καὶ τὸ σχῆμα εὐπρεπῆς, *Somn.* 6) while Virtue is "pretty... her body was adorned with purity... and her figure with modesty" (εὐπρεπῇ τε ἰδεῖν... κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι... τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνη, *Mem.* 2.1.22). The echo in Education of Virtue's attractiveness is intentional and hardly unnoticeable. Education repeats the phrase *schêma euprepes* when she enumerates all the advantages she can provide for Lucian later in the work.⁵⁶ However, this is the only area where Education and Virtue seem to resemble each other. Although she echoes Virtue in her face and beauty, Education clearly resembles Vice in her clothing. Her outfit is described in increasingly evocative terms, beginning as simply "nicely arranged" (κόσμιος τὴν ἀναβολήν, *Somn.* 6), then being described as "quite splendid dress" (πάνυ δὲ λαμπρὰν, 11), finally culminating as "dressed in regal purple" (εὐπάρυφός, 16). The luxuriousness of Education's clothing resembles that of Vice which is "made up so that her figure appears taller than natural" (κεκαλλωπισμένην...τὸ δὲ σχῆμα, ὥστε δοκεῖν

⁵⁵ "One of the banausic crafts" (τινα τέχνην τῶν βαναύσων, *Somn.* 1), "you will be considered a mere mechanic" (βάναισος... νομισθήσῃ, 9).

⁵⁶ *Somn.* 13.

όρθοτέραν τῆς φύσεως, *Mem.* 2.1.22). In addition to being unnaturally beautiful because of her clothes, Vice is also wearing “clothes from which her youthful beauty was most conspicuous” (ἐσθῆτα δέ, ἐξ ἧς ἂν μάλιστα ὥρα διαλάμποι, 2.1.22). This focus on flashy clothes is also one of the Dandy Sophist’s most defining characteristics. He claims the first step to become a rhetor is to wear “flowery clothes” (ἡ ἐσθῆς εὐανθῆς, *Rhet.* 15) and to take care to ensure the “niceness of one’s cloak” (εὐμόρφου τῆς ἀναβολῆς, 16). The parallel is unmistakable in the repetition of the word for this style of wearing a toga, *anabolê*, which is the same style Education wears.

The connection of Vice to the Dandy Sophist is strengthened in the descriptions of their accentuated femininity. Vice is described as “pampered to plumpness and softness” (τεθραμμένην μὲν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἀπαλότητα, *Mem.* 2.1.22) and as wearing so much make-up “that her skin seemed to appear whiter and redder than normal” (κεκαλλωπισμένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα, ὥστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ ἐρυθροτέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι). The Dandy recommends assuming a “womanish look” (γυναικεῖον τὸ βλέμμα, *Rhet.* 11) and wearing “tall Attic boots, the women’s kind, with lots of slits” (κρηπίς Ἀττικὴ γυναικεία, τὸ πολυσχιδές, 15) in order to appear skilled at speaking.⁵⁷ The Dandy’s femininity contrasts nicely with the Old Sophist’s masculinity and the same effect can be implied to occur with Education contrasted to Sculpture’s masculinity. The Dandy himself offers no remorse or regret at his appearance, instructing the pupil to “not be ashamed if in the eyes of every man you seem effeminate” (μὴ αἰδεσθῆς, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἐρᾶσθαι δοκοίης, 23). The similarity of the dress of Vice and the Dandy Sophist is

⁵⁷ The Dandy also recommends “if you act similarly [to talkative women] you will excel others in rhetorical things” (εἰ δὴ τὰ ὅμοια πάσχοις [λαλίστεραι αἱ γυναῖκες], καὶ ταῦτα διοίσεις τῶν ἄλλων, *Rhet.* 23).

part of the intentional irony Lucian injects into the work *A Professor of Rhetoric*, where the Dandy Sophist is the most attractive and promising, but ultimately, incorrect choice. Considering other areas where Education, Vice, and the Dandy overlap, it is not entirely clear whether Lucian's choice to follow Education over Sculpture is not also ironic.

One other area that has great importance in Education's, Vice's, and the Dandy Sophist's arguments is that they all teach a quick and easy path to success. Education emphasizes the toil and labor necessary in a career in sculpture and convinces Lucian to follow her path that is easier by comparison. She claims twice in quick succession that she can make him famous and successful much quicker than Sculpture.⁵⁸ Vice also emphasizes her effortless way of living to Heracles by boasting, "there is no need to fear that I would guide you to achieve these things toiling and enduring hard work either in body or mind" (οὐ φόβος μή σε ἀγάγω ἐπὶ τὸ πονοῦντα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι, *Mem.* 2.1.25). Her response fully counters Virtue's disclaimer that although her way is nobler, it by necessity involves labor and toil. The Dandy follows Vice's sentiment by emphasizing several times that his instruction too provides an easy living "effortlessly" (ἀπονητί, *Rhet.* 11). His way of life is so easy in fact that he claims one does not even need formal rhetorical training to become a successful rhetor: "if you haven't been initiated in the prerequisites of rhetoric... you will not need them" (εἰ μὴ προετελέσθης ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρὸ τῆς ῥητορικῆς... οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δεήσει, 14). The speed with which Education can grant fame and fortune to Lucian is emphasized most in their chariot ride from east to west across the world, returning Lucian to his father a short time later now covered in expensive clothes like those of his new tutor. That one can become successful

⁵⁸ "I will teach you in not a long time" (οὐκ εἰς μακράν σε διδάξομαι, *Somn.* 10); "you will become enviable after a short time" (μετ' ὀλίγον... ζηλωτὸς... ἔσῃ, 11).

and famous in only one day is an idea that the Dandy Sophist also promises. He tells his pupil he is able to “make you a rhetor before sunset” (πρὶν ἥλιον δῦναι ῥήτορά σε, 15). But even the Dandy knows a shortcut to the shortcut, as he claims “nothing prevents you from seeming to be a rhetor after one day, and not even a whole day at that” (οὐδέν σε κωλύσει ῥήτορα δοκεῖν μιᾷς οὐδὲ ὅλης ἡμέρας, 6). This is certainly a strong argument in favor of the Dandy Sophist, especially when he points out that the Old Sophist requires a long time for the journey, many years, even Olympiads.⁵⁹ The narrator of *A Professor of Rhetoric* even repeats the flying chariot metaphor borrowed originally from Plato’s *Phaedrus*. He even mentions Plato by name when he states the student who follows the Dandy Sophist will be able to apply the phrase about driving the chariot better to himself than Plato did to Zeus. In this statement he is implying that through his rhetorical skill the student either will become the leader of men as Zeus is the leader of the gods, or that he will become divine himself, since only divine beings pilot these winged chariots.⁶⁰ Whether or not the Dandy Sophist can actually teach rhetoric in one day, the connection drawn between his promise and Education’s chariot ride draws further comparison between the two figures. The quickness and ease each prescribes not only contrasts with the teachings of their debate opponents, but it also appeals to their target, whether that be the young and impressionable Lucian or some other ambitious young man at a professional crossroads.

The last area of comparison between the promises of Education and the Dandy Sophist is that both promise to transform their pupil from their humble beginnings to a world famous figure. Education mentions Lucian's meager origins and the low status of his

⁵⁹ *Rhet.* 9.

⁶⁰ Plato *Phaedr.* 246e.

father and family in order to show how she can benefit his life financially.⁶¹ Likewise, the Dandy Sophist explains to his pupil his own humble birth, that although “I was born from an insignificant father who had no clear free status, having been a slave above Xoïs and Thmuis, and from a seamstress mother from some slum” (πατὴρ μὲν ἀφανοῦς καὶ οὐδὲ καθαρῶς ἐλευθέρου ἐγενόμην ὑπὲρ Ξοῖς καὶ Θμοῦν δεδουλευκότος, μητὴρ δὲ ἀκεστρίας ἐπ’ ἀμφοδίου τινός, *Rhet.* 24), he still has achieved success and renown. The prospect of achieving fame beyond one’s origins would definitely appeal to the young Lucian. And the promise not just of fame, but of international fame and recognition appears in the speeches of both Education and the Dandy Sophist. Education promises that she can make Lucian so famous that when he is abroad any passerby “will point at you with his finger and say, ‘There he is!’” (δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ, Ὅςτος ἐκεῖνος’ λέγων, *Somn.* 11). Similarly, the Dandy Sophist vows that under his tutelage his pupil will become so famous that “it is no small feat to be pointed out with a finger – ‘That’s him, the one said to be foremost in all vice!’” (τὸ δείκνυσθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀκρότατον ἐν πάσῃ κακίᾳ λεγόμενον, οὐ μικρὸν εἶναι ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ, *Rhet.* 25). This kind of international recognition is not promised by Sculpture, and in fact she stressed the fact that Lucian would not have to travel to become rich and famous.

Thus, in many ways Education in *The Dream* resembles the Dandy Sophist in *A Professor of Rhetoric*, and both of these figures in some ways resemble the negative choice Vice in the Prodicus myth told in *Memorabilia*. Although there are some areas where Education and Virtue share similar characteristics, there is only one point where Education and the Old Sophist agree. This is the study of the old masters of Greek literature, and

⁶¹ *Somn.* 11.

especially Demosthenes and Plato. Education first quotes Demosthenes by repeating his well-known line about living a hare's life and finally by direct mention when she explains how she lifted him from obscurity to fame, much as she can do for young Lucian.⁶² Directly after mentioning Demosthenes, Education also references the orator's usual opponent Aeschines, again emphasizing his humble origins as the "son of a tambourine girl" (τυμπανιστρίας υἱός, *Somn.* 12), an insult Demosthenes himself used.⁶³ Rounding out this list of famous pupils is Socrates, who was also alluded to before he was named, since he also was apprenticed as a sculptor before leaving the profession for *paideia*. The Old Sophist shares the same admiration of these masters and recommends them to the pupil for study.⁶⁴ In this respect Education differs greatly from the Dandy Sophist who has this to say about the masters in general: "but about reading the classics, don't you do it, not that nonsensical Isocrates or that Demosthenes lacking charms or that lifeless Plato" (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγίγνωσκε τὰ παλαιὰ μὲν μὴ σύ γε, μηδὲ εἴ τι ὁ λῆρος Ἰσοκράτης ἢ ὁ χαρίτων ἄμοιρος Δημοσθένης ἢ ὁ ψυχρὸς Πλάτων, *Rhet.* 17). He would instead recommend reading something written more recently like "what they call exercises" (ἃς φασὶ ταύτας μελέτας, 17) in order to practice. Since this is the one point in which Education and the Dandy Sophist differ in opinion, it is thus difficult to not read the irony that is inherent in *A Professor of Rhetoric* also into *The Dream*. If there is such a strong ironic tint to the work, then Lucian's ultimate choice to follow *paideia* over *technê*, and the promises Education makes to him, might be interpreted differently.

⁶² *Somn.* 12.

⁶³ *On The Crown* 284.

⁶⁴ *Rhet.* 12.

Finally, when Sculpture and Education are compared in light of their various similarities to the other allegorical debaters from *Memorabilia* and *A Professor of Rhetoric*, it becomes more difficult to determine which is actually presented in a more positive light, and what this means for Lucian's final choice. Sculpture and Education at first appear to promise similar things to Lucian, fame, recognition, and respect for his family and fatherland. However, where Education distinguishes herself from Sculpture relates to how Lucian is admired and respected. Her promises are based on the idea that jealousy and envy bring respect and adulation, while Sculpture appears to believe the opposite. Sculpture stresses to Lucian that if he becomes famous through her profession, "you will be a stranger to all sorts of jealousy" (φθόνου δὲ παντὸς ἀλλότριος ἔσῃ, *Somn.* 7). To Sculpture jealousy is an undesirable quality, but Education believes the opposite, promising Lucian that through her "you will be an object of envy and jealousy in all people" (ἅπασι ζηλωτὸς καὶ ἐπίφθονος ἔσῃ, 11). Education stresses the idea that being enviable is a form of being respected, and she points out that Sculpture's speech does not promise to make him envied when she warns Lucian that if he follows Sculpture, "you will not be envied by your countrymen" (οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις ζηλωτός, 9). Once again we find that Education and the Dandy Sophist share a similar opinion on this subject. The Dandy lists normally negative qualities that will make one "praised and famous quickly" (ἀοίδιμον ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ περίβλεπτον, *Rhet.* 22) and included in this list is "jealousy" (φθόνος). There is no mention of incurring jealousy or envy as a form of fame in Prodicus' debate in *Memorabilia*, but judging from other mentions of jealousy in the work, it is clear that being an object of jealousy does not have the positive role that Education and the Dandy Sophist assign it. Xenophon later equates jealousy to hatred and also claims the good and noble (*kaloi*

kagathoi) are able to “remove jealousy completely” (τὸν δὲ φθόνον παντάπασιν ἀφαιροῦσι, *Mem.* 2.6.23) from their lives. Perceptive audience members would no doubt remember that when Lucian was considering a career in sculpture he relished the idea of showing off his skills to his friends in the hopes of impressing them and making them jealous. They might also recall that Lucian accused his uncle of being jealous of his skill, which led to his beating.⁶⁵ It seems likely, then, that Education’s promises of envy and jealousy influence Lucian’s final decision to prefer *paideia* over *technê*.

⁶⁵ *Somn.* 3, 4.

CONCLUSION: DID LUCIAN CHOOSE CORRECTLY?

Even though *The Dream* is couched in rhetoric and literary allusions that many believe belie any historical accuracy, it still offers itself as an important window into Lucian's assessment of his own life.⁶⁶ Although given the opportunity to join a profession in which his family has long-standing roots, Lucian abandons the profitable and noble profession of craft after a simple mistake that is usual for beginners. Even though he blames his uncle for driving him away from sculpture, in order to justify his rejection of the craft, Lucian then presents an unequal contest between Education and Sculpture in which Education is clearly the more superficially appealing choice. This contrasts to nearly all other examples of allegorical debates, and Lucian must reverse the traditional theme in order to justify to his audience that Education is the better choice. This contrasts also with two other instances of allegorical debates, the original in *Memorabilia* and the one in *A Professor of Rhetoric*. In both these works the choice that is quicker, easier, more profitable, and that results in more fame is the obviously wrong one, a theme that is usual in other authors as well. However, Education in *The Dream* exhibits many of the qualities of the wrong choice in these two works, and conversely, Sculpture represents many of the qualities of the correct choice. By introducing the dream as "divinely inspired", Lucian attempts to convince his audience that this dream is prophetic and sent by the gods, and therefore he must not ignore it. It also serves to justify his choice of Education, who represents usually negative qualities, by implying it is the divinely favored choice, which

⁶⁶ There is literary precedent for dreams, and especially dreams illustrating a life-changing decision, that Lucian may be imitating or parodying, for Galen 10.609, 16.223 and 19.59; in Xenophon's *Anabasis* 3.1.11-13; and for Socrates in Plato's *Crito* 44a-b (Gera (1995), 238).

should be justification enough of its preference over Sculpture, even if the latter exhibits the usually positive traits. After all, although Sculpture promises to make Lucian honored and worshipped like the gods, only Education offers not the chance to be worshipped like the gods, but to become immortal himself. From her benefits when Lucian dies he will continue to “associate with learned men and converse with the best” (συνὼν τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις καὶ προσομιλῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, *Somn.* 12). By choosing the option that most others in the situation would not choose (Heracles in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, and the student in *A Teacher of Rhetoric*) Lucian is voicing his opinion of the state of rhetoric and rhetoricians of his day. In contrast to the honored rhetorical masters of Classical Greece, men like Demosthenes, Plato, and Isocrates, Lucian is treating Second Sophistic rhetoricians with so much irony that it becomes unclear to the audience what his true feelings towards them are. The hidden disillusionment that Gera suggests persists in *The Dream* is made clearer when the similarities with *A Teacher of Rhetoric* and *The Double Indictment* appear. Since he has become disappointed with his initially chosen profession, it seems more reasonable that throughout his satirical dialogues, most of which were written after he left the profession of rhetorician, Lucian includes many references on how to live a truly happy life. It is also not surprising that many of the features he criticizes are those that first attracted him to a life of *paideia*: the promises of money, fame, high social esteem, and an enduring legacy.

In light of the striking similarities between Education and the wrong choices in *Memorabilia* and *A Professor of Rhetoric*, the choice Lucian makes in *The Dream* would appear to be the wrong one. It is difficult to resolve the paradox presented in this work. One possible option is to relate Education to the personification of Rhetoric in another of

Lucian's semi-autobiographical works *The Double Indictment* (*Bis Accusatus*). Like Education, Rhetoric in this work finds Lucian as a young Syrian, talking with a foreign accent, and educates him in the Greek style and language.⁶⁷ The first charge for which the dialogue is named is brought against Lucian, here in the character of "The Syrian," by Rhetoric, that he deserted her after she made him famous. The Syrian responds that she used to be respectable and moderately dressed, but now she is made-up with cosmetics, adorned with jewelry, and with coiffed hair, much like Vice in *Memorabilia*. In short, she has become what Education is like when she convinces the adolescent Lucian to follow her in the flying chariot of rhetoric. It is a generally well-known fact that around Lucian's fortieth year he abruptly switched professions, no longer focusing on forensic matters and instead focusing on literature. In Lucian's previous career as a travelling lecturer and speaker a major goal was to exhibit his level of intelligence and rhetorical expertise. In *The Dream* we see these same concerns arise, as Lucian includes references to famous Classical literary figures and a heavy rhetorical tone to prove to his audience that he is among the elites known as *pepaideumenoí*. By using a traditional myth he adequately displays his literary skill and by applying an untraditional ending he proves his rhetorical mastery by differentiating himself from others who treat the same topic. But the heavy irony and sarcasm of his other works *A Professor of Rhetoric* and *The Double Indictment* also color *The Dream* with the same shade of skepticism, leaving the audience to wonder if Lucian truly prefers the career path of *paideia*, or if he simply wants to stress that it is not the worst option.

⁶⁷ *Bis* 27.

The attitude Lucian assumes concerning the entire profession of rhetoric calls into question his own life choices. In his descriptions of the Dandy Sophist in *A Professor of Rhetoric* and of personified Rhetoric in *The Double Accusation* Lucian is clearly expressing discontent with the state of this profession in his day. In many other works of Lucian's he is often found insulting his contemporaries who call themselves rhetors or sophists and deprecating their deluded ideals. Perhaps as a young boy he was initially attracted by the prospect of learning the values of the old literary masters, but after becoming successful in this field he discovered how many of his rhetorician colleagues have brought shame to the profession through their desire for money and fame instead of personal virtue. Plato in Classical Greece also noticed this problem in the profession of rhetoric. Socrates in *Phaedrus* discusses the need of an orator who intends to be good and just to know what goodness and justice are in order to truthfully speak about them. The interlocutor Phaedrus laments that some current orators are ignorant themselves of what they preach to know, and only convince their audience through persuasion rather than truth.⁶⁸ Perhaps Lucian is drawing from this same idea and perhaps he has noticed that his colleagues do not practice what they preach, which he feels brings shame and disgrace to the profession. Though he himself became rich and famous as a forensic rhetorician he willingly abandoned the career around his fortieth year of age, perhaps at that point disillusioned with the state of his career.

Now in the career of writer, and perhaps also travelling lecturer, Lucian has a better opportunity to instruct his audience through his writings, with understanding and truth rather than simple persuasion as before. With this in mind, Socrates' words in *Phaedrus*

⁶⁸ *Phaedr.* 260a.

seem applicable to a key section of Lucian's dream: "It is by far finer... when someone utilizing the art of dialectic takes a fitting soul and plants and sows in it words along with knowledge, which are able to help both themselves and the sower, and not without a fruit but having a seed... and making the one having it as happy as possible for a human" (πολὺ δ' οἶμαι καλλίων... ὅταν τις τῇ διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος, λαβὼν ψυχὴν προσήδουσαν, φυτεύῃ τε καὶ σπείρῃ μετ' ἐπιστήμης λόγους, οἱ ἑαυτοῖς τῷ τε φυτεύσαντι βοηθεῖν ἱκανοὶ καὶ οὐχὶ ἄκαρποι ἀλλὰ ἔχοντες σπέρμα... καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα εὐδαιμονεῖν ποιοῦντες εἰς ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, *Phaedr.* 276e-7a). In this way Lucian sought to travel over the earth in the flying chariot sowing his own words into the souls of his adoring public. If Lucian did not succeed in his mission to better the lives of his public as a forensic rhetorician, perhaps he is now succeeding as a writer and travelling lecturer. He has transformed from one of the rhetors Phaedrus deprecated, one who does not practice the values they espouse in their speeches, to one who creates works of literature for the noble purpose of pleasing listeners and making their lives better. If this is true, then there is not so much a discrepancy in Lucian's choice to follow *paideia*, even though she exhibits many negative qualities. Even though he still utilizes the skills he learned in his former profession, now he follows a more skilled or scientific approach (τεχνικῶς) and is thus able to combine *paideia* and *technê*.

Initially following *paideia* allowed Lucian to learn rhetorical method and to study the works of the literary masters, but this did not offer him anything more than simply money and reputation. By applying more skill to his learning, essentially fusing *paideia* with *technê*, Lucian is able to create meaningful and thought-provoking works of art as if he were a craftsman, but in the medium of literature. Thus, he is able to use his rhetorical and

literary skills to create a new form of dialogue that serves as a literary statue in his recognition. Now Lucian could not be more right in calling himself a “Prometheus in words.”⁶⁹ Although in this work he outlines various similarities between the Titan and himself, the one that is most applicable to his hybrid professional life is that “as [Prometheus] created men from his imagination when none existed” (ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὄντων ἀνθρώπων τέως ἐννοήσας αὐτοὺς ἀνέπλασεν, *Prom.* 3), so did Lucian combine comedy and dialogue (i.e. philosophy), the former being the baser staple of *hoi polloi*, and the latter being more lofty and intellectual. In a flurry of ironic and sarcastic language, Lucian admits that he is a Prometheus of sorts. While the Titan “shaped and fashioned these living things that they might move easily and be pleasing to see” (τοιαῦτα ζῶα μορφώσας καὶ διακοσμήσας ὥς εὐκίνητά τε εἶη καὶ ὀφθῆναι χαρίεντα, 3), Lucian appropriated philosophical dialogue into the structure of comedy, making lofty philosophical ideals available for the entertainment of laymen, essentially bettering their lives.

⁶⁹ From a mock-tirade against someone who claims, “You are a Prometheus in words,” in a short work of the same name.

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